

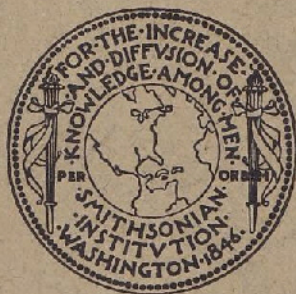
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SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 92, NUMBER 4

A NEW ORIGINAL VERSION OF BOSCANI'S HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT OF THE SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO INDIANS
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

(WITH TWO PLATES)

BY
JOHN P. HARRINGTON
Ethnologist, Bureau of American Ethnology



(PUBLICATION 3255)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
JUNE 27, 1934

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Viva Jesus.

1

Relacion historica de la creencia, usos, costumbres, y extrava-
gancias de los Indios de esta Mission de S. Juan Capistrano, llamada
la Nation, Atzacachemem.

Introduccion.

El haverme determinado a escribir esta historia fabulosa en si-
cien lo que contiene, pero verdadera respecto de estos Indios ha sido
principalmente para poder dar por algo cumplimiento á mis obliga-
ciones de misionero apostolico, teniendo siempre presente, y á la
mano, como tambien dejara á mis venideras instrucciones, y luces por-
raque quedan gobernante sin tanto trabajo como á mi me ha cos-
tado, procurando por todos modos, empleando todos los medios posibles
para adquirir el conocimiento de la creencia, usos, y costumbres que
tienen estos naturales en su gentilidad, y por la misericordia de Dios
con trabajo y maña en el espacio de mas de diez años, he podido conversacion
con una moral costumbres, todo quanto en el presente escrito se refiere.

1812
1822

Estan persuadido de que ignorando la creencia que tienen los
Indios, en sus usos, y costumbres, es muy difícil sacarlos del error en que
viven, y darles á entender la verdadera Religion, y enseñarles el verda-
dero camino para su salvacion. Confieso que es difícil poder penetrar
sus secretos, porque el significado de sus usos, y costumbres no lo saben todos,
esto es solo para los Capitanes y algunos Sahagans, que hallan el oficio de
Sacerdotes, y predicadores, y quando ellos lo enseñaban á sus hijos (y esto solo
á los que los habian de suceder) era siempre con la advertencia que no lo
manifestaran á nadie, porque si lo decian ó manifestaban ocasionaban mu-
cha desgracia, y que se morian de infundiendoles mucho temor, y miedo
y por tanto se sabe tan poco de sus cosas, porque los pocos que lo saben, y
entienden lo tienen reservado para si.

REPRODUCTION OF PAGE 1 OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT

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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

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When I first started to study the California Indians, I looked about to see what had been recorded concerning them in early times, that is, during the period of Spanish occupation. I found that only one account of California Indians, or indeed of Indians of the Southwest, worthy of being called an ethnological treatise had survived from that period, namely Father Jerónimo Boscana's "Chinigchinich", which tells in several penetrating but all too short chapters of the life of the Indians of the San Juan Capistrano Mission on the coast of southern California. There was comparatively rich Spanish archival material to be found, consisting of chronicles of voyages and land expeditions, church records, etc., but no other good description of a tribe and its customs, although certain writings on Lower California Indians constituted the nearest second to the Boscana. And the Boscana treatise was accessible only in a rather inadequate English translation published by Alfred Robinson as an appendix to his *Life in California*.¹ Persistent attempts made in this country and abroad toward locating the all-important Spanish original all resulted in failure. It was therefore a gala day in my life, unparalleled by any other, when I recently discovered the long lost Boscana original.

The manuscript proves to be even more valuable than was expected, since it is an 1822 variant version of the Historical Account that Robinson translated, each version containing certain important data that the other omits. It consists of 58 octavo pages written in a rather neat

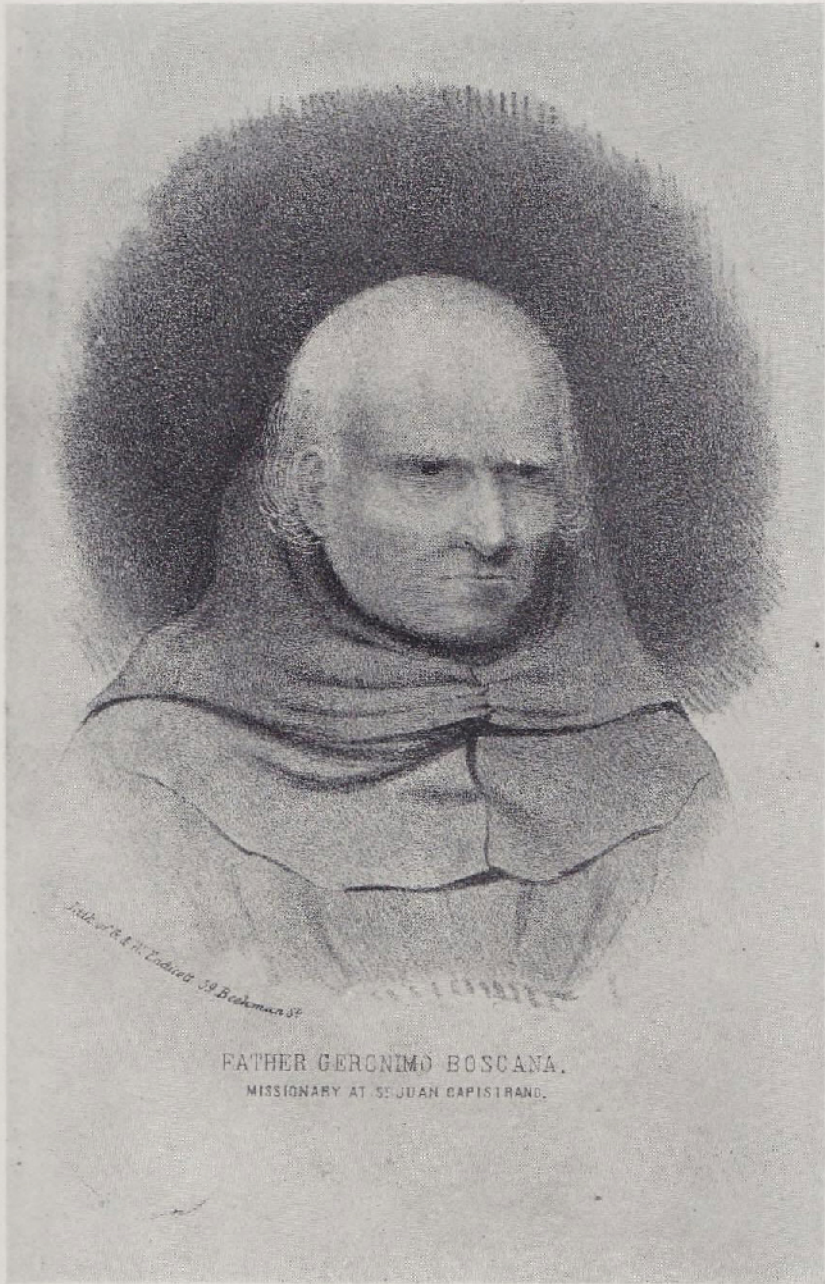
¹Chinigchinich: a historical account of the origin, customs, and traditions of the Indians at the missionary establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California; called the Acagchemem nation . . . , by the Reverend Father Friar Geronimo Boscana . . . New York, 1846. For a reprint of this work see Boscana, Gerónimo, 1776-1831, *Chinigchinich* (Chi-ni'ch-ni'ch), a revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson's translation of Father Gerónimo Boscana's historical account, edited by Phil Townsend Hanna, annotations by John P. Harrington, foreword by Frederick Webb Hodge, Santa Ana, Calif., 1933.

hand, the hand already familiar to me through working with the church records at San Juan Capistrano. An introduction, written in very fervent tone, is followed by 15 chapters devoted respectively to the subjects of origin, creation tradition, history of the traditional leaders Quiot and Chinigchinix, instruction of children, marriage, general manner of life, chieftainship, description of the native temples, feasts and dances, calendar, extravagancies, burials and funerals, beliefs of immortality, origin of the inhabitants of San Juan Capistrano Mission, and list with etymologies of 15 rancherias inhabited by these Indians. A halftone reproduction of page 1 of the manuscript is shown in plate 1 (frontispiece).

Boscana was born May 23, 1776, at the country town of Llumayor on the island of Mallorca off the coast of eastern Spain. His native tongue was, of course, the Catalonian language, very different from Spanish. He was ordained at a Franciscan college at Palma, capital of the island, and was sent as a missionary to Mexico, and thence to Alta California, now the California of Americans. He was missionary at San Juan Capistrano from 1812 to 1826, a period of 14 years, and died, still a middle-aged man, at the nearby mission of San Gabriel, Calif., in 1831. The only picture of Father Boscana known to be extant is the reproduction of what was evidently a pencil drawing published in Robinson's book, here republished as plate 2. It shows the father in the latter years of his life, probably when he was stationed at San Gabriel.

The San Juan Capistrano Indians which the Historical Account describes are a northwestern subdivision of the so-called Payomkawish or San Luiseño Indians of San Luis Rey Mission, who occupy the San Luis Rey River drainage in northern San Diego County, Calif., and adjacent regions. The dialect which they speak belongs to the great Aztec family of languages.

The religion of the Indians described by Boscana centers about the revelations of a prophet named Chinigchinix, as it is spelled in this version, the *x* being pronounced as in Catalonian, that is, equal to English *sh*. The prophet was known by three sacred names: Saor, meaning common person, noninitiate; Tobet, medicine man, initiate; and Quoar, a name too sacred to pronounce aloud. These three names apply to three successive periods in the prophet's revelatory life. The prophet was born at the rancheria of Pubu in Los Angeles County, Calif., only a couple of miles inland from Alamitos Bay, there accomplished his principal teaching, and when he died, was from there merely translated to the heaven of the stars, leaving no earthly bodily remains. From above and everywhere he watches our deeds and



ONLY EXTANT PICTURE OF REV. JERONIMO BOSCANA, REPRODUCED FROM LITHOGRAPH FRONTISPIECE IN ALFRED ROBINSON, LIFE IN CALIFORNIA, NEW YORK, 1846

thoughts, and sends poisonous medicine animals, known as Chinigchinix animals, also calamities and death, to punish those who mock his dances and disobey his commandments. So much does this deity prophet command our central attention throughout the essay that Robinson calls his translation outright: Chinigchinich.

A very literal and careful translation of the newly found manuscript, following all the minutiae of its style, is here presented. Exhaustive notes have been prepared and will constitute a separate publication.

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VIVA JESUS.

A historical account of the belief, usages, customs, and extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, called the Acáchemem tribe.

INTRODUCTION

My having resolved to write this history, fabulous in itself, or in its subject matter, but true as far as these Indians are concerned, has been primarily with the aim of being able to fulfill to some degree my duties as Apostolic Missionary, having their fulfillment ever present and near at hand, as well as also of leaving to those who come after me instruction and lights in order that they may be guided without such labor as it has cost me, trying in every way, using all possible means, to gain knowledge of the belief, usages, and customs which these natives had in their gentile state. And by the mercy of God, through labor and cunning during a period of more than ten years [marginal annotation: from 1812 to 1822], I have been able to investigate to a moral certainty everything that is related in the present book.

Since I am of the persuasion that if we are ignorant of the belief held by the Indians, of their usages and customs, it is very difficult to take them out of the error in which they live and to give them to understand the true religion, and to teach them the true way to their salvation. I confess that it is difficult to be able to penetrate their secrets, because the signification of their usages and customs is not known to all of them. This [signification] is only for the chiefs and certain satraps, who performed the work of priests, and [certain] criers, and when these taught it to their sons (and that only to those who were to succeed them), it was always with the admonition that they should not divulge it to anyone, for if they told or divulged it, they would have many misfortunes, and would die, etc., instilling into them much dread and fear; and for that reason so little is known about their affairs, since those few who know and understand keep it to themselves.

Since these Indians did not use writings, letters, or any characters, nor do they use them, all their knowledge is by tradition, which they preserve in songs for the dances which they held at their great feasts. But since these songs have their form or are in a language distinct

from that which is spoken at the present time, no one, except those mentioned above, understands the meaning of the song and dance; the others sing and dance but without knowing either what they are saying or what they are doing. I imagine that such songs are in a primitive language, and they preserve them in their feasts, and these songs and dances contain all their religion, usages and customs, and for this reason these songs are not used or sung except in their feasts.

They also have common songs and dances in their own language, which latter are sung and danced daily, and are understood by all, but these are nothing more than for the purpose of amusing themselves and idling about with one another.

What I have said above seems to me sufficient for understanding the purpose which has led me to write this little work about the belief, usages and customs of these Indians, and if it may seem to some that my bravery has been great, attributing it to arrogance and presumption, since I am a pigmy beside my brethren, they being more illustrious and of greater experience, let it be borne in mind that I have not written it to show myself to be anything more than what I am, but that my purpose is that I may free from delusion those who have confided to me their errors, as well as that certain ones may be incited to make public the secrets of the Indians which they have encountered, with the result that with information on record as regards their belief, usages and customs, they can be told what they may follow and what they should put aside; and for this reason I hope that he who reads this composition may be pleased to see such information, and if he should find anything which may disagree with the truth which I have proposed to set forth, or any defect to correct, I shall give boundless thanks to him who may show it to me, so that the error may be perceived and corrected. And withal I am beseeching God that he grant us his holy grace and benediction. Amen.

CHAPTER I

FROM WHAT RACE OF PEOPLE MAY THESE INDIANS COME?

[1.] Since no information is found as to where these people of California may have come from, neither the natives of this Mission nor of the rest of the country being able to give an account of their origin or race, not even having it by tradition, it is necessary [for us] to walk blindly, traveling to and fro with closed eyes after the truth, and perchance not knocking at her door for a long interval, or perhaps departing further from the truth—inasmuch as this chapter is all by way of conjecture, if I err in this undertaking, it is not through will and caprice, but because of not being able to discover the light in a place so dark, going along groping blindly.

2. Without pausing over what the authors relate as to whether they are descended from Jews, as some think, or from Carthaginians or Phenicians, as others think, I for my part, without involving myself in times so remote, shall give attention to the kinds of people who came to settle the Mexican kingdom.

3. The kinds of people who settled the Mexican kingdom, according to what Fr. Torquemada tells us in his *Monarquía Indiana* [marginal annotation: book 1, chapter 14], were four, he says, namely: Tultecas, Chichimecas, Aculnas, and Mexicans. Among these above mentioned different kinds of people, it is my feeling that the Indians of California here are of the Chichimeca race, because they are similar [to them] in every respect, according to what the above mentioned Torquemada relates to us [marginal annotation: same book, chapter 15], when he says: that toward the regions of the north (away from the City of Mexico, and at a great distance) there were certain provinces, the principal city of which was called Amaqueme, and the inhabitants Chichimecas, people naked of clothes, fierce of appearance, and great warriors, their arms bows and arrows, their ordinary subsistence is game and wild fruits, and their habitation in cavernous places or straw huts, for since the principal exercise of their life was hunting, they did not amuse themselves with building palaces.

4. Although the said Chichimecas lived in towns or rancherías, they had very few police, for they did not recognize any king or lord, but let themselves be governed by a chief, though not by one greater, as we

shall see in the proper place, or by one more esteemed, than any other man of those of the rancheria, with the result that in treatment and life all were equal.

5. This name Chichimeca means sucker or one who nurses, and since the principal and usual food of these was animals which they hunted, the meat of which they ate raw, and since they first sucked the blood of the animal, from this they got the name Chichimeca. Perhaps among themselves they may have had another distinct name which I do not know. These Chichimeca people did not live stationary at a single place, but from time to time moved from one place to another. They were ignorant of medicine for curing their diseases, and they did not bury the dead, but burned them. They did not use many idolatries, or venerate many Gods, and for this reason they did not have sacrifices.

6. Comparing then these Indians of California with the above mentioned Chichimecas, we find them absolutely similar: For their life was the same, because although they lived in towns and rancherias having a chief, which these [Indians] called *Not*, he was without police or laws, and to him they held very little obedience, as we shall see. Their dress was the natural one, which is to go about in their bare skins; their subsistence animals and wild seeds; their medicines almost none; and they also burned the dead. And in a word I find them similar in every way; I speak of those whom I have [here] treated and whom I have observed, who are the people of this Mission and its environs. And I think that through all the Province they are the same; I only find a difference in the Canaleños, who in many things differed from these Indians [here], for one perceives in them greater industry, a different bearing, and they buried the dead and did not burn them.

7. Only the diversity of languages which we find in the Province causes me much difficulty for assuming that the entire Province comes from that Chichimeca race, for each tribe appears to be of a distinct language. For we should suppose that the Chichimeca tribe would speak a single language, although from place to place there would be certain different [terms], such as provincialisms, but in general it would be the same [language] and all would have understood each other; but we find it so different that the Dieguino language and that of this Mission neither in terms nor accents resemble each other, nor can a single word be understood mutually. And I say the same of the Canaleño language and the others of the north. If I am told that certain tribes may have corrupted the primitive language, I say that it may well be, but that there would always be a connection,

such as we see between Old Castilian and that which is spoken at present.

8. [The matter set forth in] this paragraph above is what confuses me without being able to discern what may be the cause; if anyone of my brethren or others who may see this could make it clear, I would be boundlessly grateful to him, it being a matter useful to all and especially to us. Let what has been said be sufficient, and may others enlarge upon the above chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ABOUT THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Do not let the reader think that I wish to give here an account of that which Moses relates in the first chapter of Genesis. I do not intend any such thing, but to set forth the belief which these Indians had in their gentile state about the beginning of the world. And although one encounters in the narration many contradictions, we should not be surprised that certain crude Indians, without knowledge of the true God, without faith, without law or king, governed so long by the Father of Lies, without writings or characters, but having everything by mere tradition—we should not be surprised, I repeat, at their extravagancies and the little discernment in their acts, for since they were so ignorant, without being able to distinguish the true from the false, they did not know the path of light, and continually walked in darkness.

The belief which these Indians had concerning the origin of the world was thus: they relate that formerly there was nothing, only one above and another below; these two were brother and sister, man and woman, the one above, a man, which is properly the Heaven, and the one below, a woman, which is the Earth, but it was not the Heaven and the Earth as they are seen now, but of another nature which they do not know how to explain, and it was continually very dark night, without sun, moon, or stars. The brother came to the sister, and brought the light, which is the sun, telling her that he wanted to do many things with her; it meant that he wanted to cohabit with her. But the sister resisted declaring to him that they were brother and sister, and that therefore it was impossible to consent to what he desired, and that for that reason he should go back and leave her in peace.

Note: And the Indians of these parts pay such faithful observance to the first degree of consanguinity that I have never heard that brothers with sisters, or fathers with daughters, or sons with mothers, have been seen at all, nor even with first cousins, for being first cousins they are treated the same as brothers; but not so with the relatives by affinity, for there were many married to two sisters, as they also had the custom that if a woman died and she had a sister, the latter entered as a wife in place of the deceased woman. Here is seen the Mosaic law.

But at last in spite of all the resistance that she made, the sister became pregnant, and what she brought forth was earth and sand,

but a small quantity, after the shape and manner of a little plot of ground; this was the first childbirth. She again found herself pregnant, and in this second childbirth she brought forth rocks of all kinds, sorts and sizes, and principally flint for the arrows. She again found herself pregnant, and in this third childbirth, she brought forth trees, and shrubs or chamize. In a word, after having given birth to all the things which are seen on the earth, such as plants, herbs, and the rest, she brought forth as her last childbirth one whom they call *Oüiot*. This was an animate being, but different from the rational kind, and irrational. But the father and mother of the said *Oüiot* were not people, but something else, and they do not know how to explain or to give to understand how they imagined them.

The above mentioned *Oüiot* had children, and was the king or great chief of all that family. This *Oüiot* and his children constituted, according to what I have understood, a species of animals distinct from those of the present day. Asking them how Chief *Oüiot* had sons, or who was his wife and what she was called, they do not know how to answer this question, but say that he had many children, but how they do not know, nor whether all were males or whether there were females, they do not know this either, but conjecture that there were both, because women give birth that way. The discussion of the above I leave to philosophers, for my intention is nothing more than to make a succinct account.

CHAPTER 3

THE LIFE OF CHIEF OUIOT AND THE ORIGIN OF THESE INDIANS.

While Chief Ouiot was with his people, as they say, which he kept procreating, that first ground, which his mother had given birth to, kept increasing and widening, always from the north to the south (it is to be noted that all these Indians believe that they come from the region of the north), and as they kept on increasing, the earth kept growing all the time. Oiot already being very old, the eldest of his vassals, whether it may have been because of envy or because of the desire of governing, determined to kill their chief, alleging that he was not governing them well, and that he already was too old to govern; they held their conference as to what manner of death they should put him to, and the decision was rendered that he should be herbed or poisoned. They made the mixture, and giving him to drink that beverage which they had prepared for the purpose of killing him, immediately he felt sick, and finding this to be his fate he descended from the hills or mountains where he was making his home, and he came to where the beach now is (for at that time there was no sea yet). His mother knowing the danger in which her son, Oiot, found himself, prepared a remedy for curing him, which was in this manner: she urinated in a large abalone shell, placed in the urine some worms and certain herbs, put it in the sun, but while she had it fermenting, the Coyote came along, gave the shell a kick, and spilled all the medicinal preparation, and by this accident were frustrated all the desires and hopes of the mother of Chief Oiot.

Note: These Indians were of the belief that from this urine which the Coyote spilled, the sea was formed, that from the worms which were in the shell the fish were created, and that from the herbs were born the Giant Kelp and other plants which there are in the sea, and for this reason, they say, that the water of the sea has the taste or flavor of urine, because it is salty and bitter.

At last Chief Oiot died, and although before he died he had told them that in a short time he would return to live with them, from that time on they never saw him more. It is to be noted, that at that time there were no seeds or game, their food was earth, (which according as they explained and as I understand) is a kind of white clay or fine argil, with which they plaster their heads. Finding themselves thus situated after the death of Oiot, they discussed the

matter of giving him burial. It was deliberated whether he should be buried or burned, and all the votes were that he should be burned. They prepared the hearth with wood and with the dead Oiot on top of it, and fearing that the Coyote might eat him, they sent him away to hunt for fire. And what the said Coyote did was to withdraw to a short distance and hide, spying on what they were doing, and on one occasion when he was some distance off they lighted the pyre, and the Coyote seeing it, behold he comes back at full speed, and although they did not allow him to approach, he saying that he wanted to burn himself up and die with his chief, he jumps over them into the flames, and seized a piece of the shoulderblade and shoulder of Oüiot, ate it up, and he did not get any more because the rest had been consumed by the flames. This Coyote was called *Eyacqüe*, which is the same as second chief, and at that time they changed the name *Eyacque* to the name of *Enó*, which means thief and eater of people, and thus they call coyotes at the present time: *Enó*.

After concluding the functions and ceremonies of the burial of their Chief Oiot, that is, after having burned him, they all assembled for a great council, at which they discussed in what way they could have wild seeds to eat, such as acorns, Wild Amaranth, chia, etc., and also game such as deer, cottontail rabbits, jackrabbits, quails, ground-squirrels, rats, etc. While all were at the above mentioned meeting, they saw on various days and many times one like a phantom, different from themselves, who kept appearing to them and disappearing, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, and finding themselves in suspense and fear at what they were seeing, they decided to call him to them. They called him, he came to them and they asked him if he was their Chief Oüiot. "I am not Chief Oüiot," he answered them, "but a greater chief, and I am called *Chinigchinix*." They asked him where he lived, and he answered: "My habitation is above." He asked them what matter they were discussing at the meeting and why they were all gathered there. They answered him that it being that their Chief Oiot had died, they were discussing how they could support themselves with wild seeds and game, and not have to subsist any longer on the clay that they were eating.

In consideration of these motives *Chinigchinix* answered them and told them: "I make all things, and I shall create people for you people, distinct from yourselves, whom you soon shall see. And now, from this moment on I give unto you power and faculty, to each one of you, that one shall make it rain, that another shall make the weather clear up, that another shall produce acorns, that

another shall produce chia, that another shall produce Wild Amaranth, etc.; likewise that another shall produce cottontail rabbits, that another shall produce ducks, that another shall produce geese, that another shall produce deer, etc. To each one he gave the power, now to produce seeds, now animals, of the kind that they eat. And still at the present time, those who pretend to be their descendants, claim to have this power, and the [other] Indians consult them, asking that they produce many seeds, that they make the ducks tame, and they pay them well, so that they will be pleased, for they believe that if they do not pay them, there will be no seeds, nor will they get game.

After Chinigchinix had given the power, as we have said, to the descendants of Oiot, which must have been the time of *dixit et factum est*, he created the people that he had told them about, and Chinigchinix made these people from a little mud of the shore of a lake, and these are the Indians that now exist, and he did not make merely one but a number of men and women, and he told them: "He who obeys me not or believes not in what I teach him, him shall I punish, to him shall I send bears to bite, rattlesnakes to sting, and other misfortunes." And he taught them the law which they should observe henceforth with its rites and ceremonies.

The first commandment which he gave them was that they should build him a temple in which they were to worship him, offer him sacrifices, veneration, and cult, this same Chinigchinix furnishing the design or model of how the temple was to be built. This Chinigchinix, whom from that time on they considered as God, the Indians say had no father or mother, and all are ignorant of his origin. I have not been able to obtain the etymology of the name Chinigchinix, nor do the Indians know what it means or its significance, as is also the case with the name Ouiot. It is true that they are proper names, and for that reason must have and should have their origin, but so far I am ignorant of it.

They believed that the God Chinigchinix was everywhere present, that he saw everything, though it were dark night, but that no one could see him; that he was a friend of the good and punished the wicked much. This God Chinigchinix has three distinct names, namely: *Saor*, *Quoar*, and *Tobet*. Each name has its own meaning, for *Saor* signifies or means the time when the said Chinigchinix did not yet know how to dance. *Quoar* when he already knew how to dance. And *Tobet* when he danced wearing a little skirt or apron of feathers, adorned with feathers like a crown on his head, and painted up. And they say that this Chinigchinix went away dancing to Heaven. And this kind of dress their God Chinigchinix commanded them to use in their feasts, and they use it in the special dances of their great feasts.

This is the belief which these Indians had about the creation of the world and their origin; and in the narration of this fable alone we see included and comprised all the usages, customs and ceremonies of the Indians of this Mission and vicinity with slight variation.

I consider that the reader is in suspense after reading the above account and that he is desirous of learning what became of the children and descendants of Ouiot, after Chinigchinix created the Indians from the mud of the lake, since we have made no further mention of them. According as some relate, the God Chinigchinix after making the Indians, transformed them [the race of Ouiot] into people or Indians like themselves, and to this account I adhere as being the one more reasonable and congruous, because of what we have said above about the power and faculty which Chinigchinix gave them [the race of Ouiot] of producing seeds and game, and about those who hold themselves to be their descendants claiming to have that power yet. Others tell that when they [the race of Ouiot] saw the Indians which Chinigchinix had made, they [the race of Ouiot] departed to another region, and it is not known where, and that they have not been seen more. Others tell other things which I am not taking time to write, considering them the forgeries of their crude brains.

CHAPTER 4

ABOUT THE TEACHING OR INSTRUCTION WHICH THEY GAVE TO THEIR CHILDREN.

One of the matters in which the Ancients experienced the greatest difficulty and which gave them considerable care was the bringing up of the children, because on this being good or bad depends the goodness or badness of the child. Since these Indians did not know either the mechanic arts, or the liberal ones, or did they need them because of the manner of life which they led, but only those necessary for their own preservation, they therefore were not able to teach their children anything useful to rid them of their idleness. They merely instructed them in the handling of the bow and arrow, and this in order that they might learn to hunt for food and defend themselves from their enemies.

Although these Indians were ignorant of the true path, and the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the true God, and this fear the beginning of the instruction of children, nevertheless the instructions which the parents gave their children had their moral virtues, for the parents and grandparents took care very earnestly that their children be well brought up and good [children], because if one of them turned out perverse, although they quickly removed him from their midst, they were disgraced. And for this reason from the time they were small they admonished them (and this by showing them beforehand many misfortunes and punishments, if they did not follow carefully what was being taught them), telling them that they should not be thieves, or liars, that they should not injure people, should not fight with one another, and should not use bad words, and above all that they should not make fun of the old people, but should respect and fear them; and that if they did not give heed to these instructions which their parents gave them, even though they might kill him [the perverse child], the God Chinigchinix would punish him much. And this was the daily harangue. These Indians did not punish the faults of their children, they merely gave them certain admonishments to correct them, but in reality very few offences were committed and the reason was the much fear and great dread which they felt.

When the males were at the age of about 6 or 7 years, they gave them a kind of God as a protector, and it was the animal in which they should put all their faith in times of need, and it would defend them in

all dangers, especially in the wars against their enemies; and it was never the principal [God], for they knew that he was hidden, and that if at any time he appeared to them and spoke to them, it was always in the form of animals, and of these the most abominable, ugly, and hideous. Indeed, in order that the boy might know which one the God Chinigchinix destined for him, and in which he was to place confidence, they gave him a drink, which is prepared from a kind of tobacco (I do not know the [Spanish] name of this herb) which they call *Pibat* (they apply this term to all tobacco which is smoked), this they prepare by grinding it up, and when it is pulverized they make a cake, mixed with other ingredients, which according to what they have told me are lime and urine.

To others they gave another [kind of a] drink [prepared] from a plant which is called *Toluáche*, and which they call *Mani*, and drunkenness is produced by one of these as much as by the other, in drinking which they shortly lose their senses, and finding themselves deprived of their senses by their drunkenness, they were made to fast 3 or 4 days or more (and it is to be noted that their fasts were natural ones, they being given nothing to eat or drink during the entire time that the fast lasted). During this period they continually had by their heads some old men or old women who were preaching to them without letting them rest either day or night, telling them that he [the boy] should take good notice and be watchful, and therefore should not go to sleep, that he might see if the bear, the coyote, the raven, the rattlesnake, etc., were to come, naming over a great many; if they were to come gentle or angry; and that from the first animal whom he might see he should ask for what he wanted. The poor unfortunate, in his drunkenness, and without having eaten or drunk for many days, had a thousand visions and deliriums and when he said that he saw this or that one and explained what he had manifested to him, that is, what he was to do for him, he was then given something to eat, so that he would come to himself, and when he was somewhat stronger they began a great dance feast, according to their custom, exhorting him to be very careful not to make angry the one who had appeared to him, and to carry out exactly what he had commanded.

There were others who did not drink these drinks, and what was done with them was that first they feathered them and painted them well with a kind of soot between black and red color, and adorned in this manner, they carried them to the temple called *Vanquex*, with many ceremonies. On reaching there, the satraps put him [the boy] at one side of Chinigchinix and in front of him on the ground they painted a figure, the most ridiculous which can be imagined, for it consisted of

nothing more than streaks or lines, horizontal and transverse, circular and semicircular, all poorly made without order or arrangement. There they left the boy, forbidding him to leave there until the penance of fasting was concluded (which was wont to last 3 entire days), telling him that should he feel hunger or thirst he must have patience and bear it, for if he ate or drank, though it were alone at night in secret, the evil figure which was painted in front of him would make it known, and that Chingchinix was looking at him and would punish him, sending diseases upon him so that he would die, and other similar nonsense. And these poor boys believed it all infallibly, and observed it to the very letter.

I was told of a case that had happened in the time of their gentile condition, and it was that a boy being in the Vanquex during the penance of fasting, on the second day found himself with considerable hunger and thirst, and he went in secret to a nearby house at which there were no people home at this time, found something to eat, ate and drank, and immediately returned to his place, without anyone having seen him. And after the period of penance was finished, finding himself one day with his companions, he told them of what he had done at the time of his penance in that he had eaten and drunk, and having found that the evil figure said nothing, and that nothing happened to him, he stated that everything which the *Puplem*, that is, the wizards or soothsayers, told was lies and deceit, for having eaten and drunk and even rubbed out part of the figure with his feet, nothing had happened to him, for which reason one should not believe the *Puplem*. But his companions, instead of opening their eyes and perceiving the error and the deceit, so great was their resentment and fury which they felt against him, because of the disrespect which he had shown the old men, that when the matter was divulged he was shot to death with arrows.

Note: The drinks *Pibat* and *Toluáche*, of which we have spoken above, outside their use for the boys, were also employed by the men, and still are, for the purpose of winning in their games, for obtaining the women whom they covet, and for procuring any evil thing that they may think of. It is to be noted that at the time of their drunkenness they also have to observe a fast, for at least some 3 days, and that when this is over they are said to be cured, and that when they are cured in this manner, they believe, and this without having the slightest doubt enter their minds, that they will be able to attain any evil thing which they crave; but if they are not successful and their luck is reversed, as frequently happens, they attribute it to being poorly cured, that is, that they did not drink sufficient medicine, or did not keep the fast well; or to other similar causes.

After the boys had been put through everything that we have related, they put on them their mark, which is properly speaking a

brand—for it is obvious that the Devil, entering into the use of reason, wished to have them marked like slaves, which was accomplished in this manner: They took a species of herb or grass, this they pounded and crushed until it became like tinder, and put it on the place where they were to be branded (which was on their arms and thighs) in the figure which he [the boy] was to have, lighted it, and let it burn until it was consumed. We must consider that the burn soon raised a blister and made a sore. This they left until it healed, without putting any remedy on, and the place remained scarred permanently. Others instead of the grass used dry tule, and others the dung or manure of jackrabbits or cottontail rabbits.

The cause or reason which they allege for branding themselves thus was that they believed that with this mark they have more strength in the arm and better pulse for handling the bow, and that Chinigchinix wished it thus and so commanded, in order that they might conquer their enemies, and that he who was not branded with this sign, which they called *potouse*, would always be unfortunate and beaten, like a despicable man and one having little strength.

The boys, in addition to what has been mentioned, had to suffer still other martyrdoms in order to become men and be able to present themselves among the rest. It was their custom, after the mark had been put on them, when they were bigger boys, to whip them with nettles and to put ants on them, and this was done in order to make them more robust and stronger, and it was done as follows: In the summer time at about the months of July and August when the nettles are in season and the fiercest they took some bunches of them and with these began to whip the boys on their legs, thighs, butts, shoulders and arms. After this sacrifice, having been well lashed with nettles, they placed the patient on a nest of fierce ants, and another one was stirring them up to make them still fiercer, and since the patient had no more clothes on than what he brought from the belly of his mother, we can imagine in what condition he must have been, after having been thoroughly lashed with nettles, as a result of those fierce ants, which even cause fever. And so great was their patience, that they seemed like dead, without a groan or movement. These were the ones called cured. There were some who suffered this torture several times over, and many went through it alone or with some companion, for they believed that when thus cured, they were from that time on more agile, and that the arrows of their enemies could not harm them.

They also deprived the youths from getting close to the fire, in order that they might learn to suffer and to harden themselves to the in-

clemency of the weather, and also from eating certain foods, such as acorns, Islay, Chia, etc., as well as the meat of certain animals, such as deer, cottontail rabbit, jackrabbit, etc., in a word, all the best foods that they had, telling them that these foods were for the old people only, and that until they had 2 or 3 children they could not eat of them, and that if they ate of them before that time in secret, the *Toux*, which is the Devil, would make it known and would punish them, causing them many injuries, such as: stumbling over rocks, tripping over burrows, that mountain lions, bears, rattlesnakes, etc., would bite them, and that their Chinigchinix would be very angry and that they would die. And they had such faith and belief in these fabulous stories, and so great was their dread and fear, that they would sooner perish than transgress to the slightest extent.

In the instructions that they gave to the girls, in addition to the general admonishments which they gave to the boys, they added that they should not be run-about, but remain in retirement, nor should they be sleepy-heads or lazy, but always ready and obedient, so that when they were grown up they would know how to work at their chores, which are the hunting and cleaning of seeds, the preparation of acorn mush and pinole, these being the foods which they use. And for this reason from the time they were little girls they would make a traybasket for them suitable to their size, and would teach them to do this work, as well as to grind or to pound up the seeds, telling them that knowing how to work and not being lazy, they would have, when they grew up, many men who would seek them, and that they would be very much liked.

In this region, toward the south, the custom prevailed of tattooing the women, and from the time they were little girls they began to tattoo them, commencing in the case of some between the eyebrows, in that of others on the chin, extending it as they kept growing over almost the entire face, breasts, and arms, which tattoo was generally lattice pattern, [but] there were other women who had lines and other figures. This tattooing was done as follows: With some thorns from an *Opuntia* Cactus thicket they pricked the place until it bled. Then they rubbed it with a kind of charcoal, and that place remained with a blue color which never disappears. The principal reason why they tattooed women, according to what I have been able to investigate, is because they say that when tattooed thus they are prettier and better liked and will have many suitors. But I fancy and believe another thing, and it is that just as the Devil put the burn on the men as a brand, in the case of the women it must be the tattoo, and thus he had both men and women marked.

What these Indians had rare and special was that the fathers and mothers advised their daughters when they were grown up, telling them that if while gathering seeds for pinole or traveling to some other place they met with one of the eaters of human flesh or one of the wizards, and these wanted to use them, they should not resist, but should agreeably comply with their desires, and this though they might be going along with their own mothers, or if married they might be going along with their husbands, for these latter at the first insinuation yielded their right. And this was because they told the women that if they resisted and did not willingly comply, they would poison them with herbs and make their bodies rot, along with other similar nonsense, and the poor wretched women believed it infallibly, and full of fear they submitted to everything, although it was against their wishes.

At the first menstruation, or at the time of the first monthly, as they say, they used to hold some big feasts with many ceremonies, which began in the following manner: They made, and still do make, a hole about a half yard in depth, not round but long, after the fashion of a grave, they fill it with fire with some rocks in it, and when it is good and hot they clean the hot coals out of it, leaving in it the rocks, good and hot, they lay on top of them a bedding, as it were, of California Mugwort (which is a species of Wormwood), called *Pacsil*. On top of the California Mugwort the girl lies, covered up well, without being given anything to eat or drink for 2 or 3 days, or at least very little, and thus they keep her until she has become clean. In there, the girl patient, in her hot pit, is bedecked all about the pit with the feathers of various birds, shell beads, and many things which they have, and with some old women, who have that task, singing without letting her rest either day or night, a song so tiresome that one does not know if they are crying or laughing, a black glue or bitumen on their faces so that they look like devils. I have not been able to determine what they say in their song, because I can never understand them [the old women], and when I asked others about it, they all answered that they did not understand them, while unmarried women dance around the girl patient at certain designated hours during every day of the roasting. Since these days were feast days, many people, men and women, went there, some to dance and others to watch the dancing and to get something of what was being distributed, be it pinole, shell beads, or whatever it was. The above described was the general method, with exception of some poor [girls] who

got fixed up with their mothers and grandmothers alone, without so much witchcraft. In their present status of being Christians they use the same procedure, with the witchcraft removed, which they used in their gentility, of feathers, dances and songs.

The most peculiar custom which these Indians had was that there were a few [girls] although very few, daughters of chiefs, and among these principally the first born, in the case of whom, after the catamenia had come to an end and the girls had come forth from the roasting, an old man, one of the wizards, designated for the purpose, made with a flint a little cut in the girl's private parts, and after the operation started preaching before all the people, saying that that girl was already a woman, that she was good, that she would have many children, and other similar nonsense.

CHAPTER 5
ABOUT THEIR MARRIAGES.

One of the things necessary for the conservation of the life of man was company, for which reason God ordained that man should have woman, with whose company he should pursue two ends, one, the intercourse, of which he was capable, and the other, that from the union of the two would be born children who would follow in the propagation and increase of the race. Although it has been an ancient custom among all nations to give the women to their husbands, it has not been everywhere in the same manner or with the same ceremonies, and for that reason I shall set forth those which these Indians employed.

The general custom which they employed for seeking a woman for the purpose of marriage was that the man who wanted to be married went for several days to and fro about the house of the woman that he desired, but without entering it, waiting for an occasion to speak to her, and when he found her all alone he told her: *I want to marry you, or We should get married.* There were others who sent a third [party] to talk to her in private, and if the girl said yes, she notified her parents, and if they agreed, the bridegroom was notified that he could come into the house and talk with them and with the girl. There were also certain ones whose marriage was fixed up by the old people, and it was that after the parents of the girl had been notified these same old people notified her telling her: You have to marry such a one, and you will live well, and you will have many things, for he knows how to kill deer, cottontail rabbits—and [telling her] other similar things.

The first time that the bridegroom entered the house of the bride he brought his little present, now a deer skin, otter skin or seeds, or shell beads, in fact, whatever he could, and from that day on he was considered bridegroom of the house, tending to the bringing of something to eat, for he ate and in most cases also slept there, but without cohabiting with the bride, or having the least indecency with her either in words or actions, and they were very scrupulous about this.

During this period, which we may call the period of betrothal, the obligations of the bridegroom were to bring wood to the house

every day, and to hunt cottontail rabbits, ground squirrels, mice, etc., to eat. And the girl had the obligation of working at the chores and duties of the house. The first thing that she did was that at the first streak of dawn she arose, went to the water and bathed herself, brought water for the house, sprinkled it, swept it, and this with much promptness and care; then she prepared the food of various kinds of mush, pinoles or of whatever they had, and [did] the other chores of the house, and she had to do all of it alone, without the help of anybody. Sometimes also the parents of the bridegroom went to eat [there].

Note: Having the bride perform all the tasks of the house was in order that the bridegroom might observe whether the girl was lazy, and whether she knew how to prepare food and to do the other necessary work of the house, and whether she would serve him well, and for this reason he lived in the house of the bride.

When they determined the day of the wedding, after having spent some 15 days, in some cases a longer and in some a shorter time, during which the above mentioned manner of living lasted, they notified the relatives and friends, or we might better say the whole rancheria, of the wedding feast, which lasted from 3 to 4 days. When the day arrived, certain old men called Pulem (who are those of the Sanhedrim) took the girl and in public took off of her all the jewels and adornments which she was wearing (these were a kind of earrings [made] of shells and long bones) in her ears, and on her throat and arms, they decorated her head with feathers, but not like the crown of the dancers, but with the feathers spread out—her hair, arms and bosom, and decked thus with feathers they presented her to all the people, and then seated her beside the bridegroom on a tule mat, certain old men dancing in front of them and singing to them, and with the other people also dancing and eating all the time that the feast lasted.

The instructions which the parents gave to their daughter before they parted were very good ones, for they told her that she should always remember that she was the daughter of some good parents, and that therefore she should not disgrace them, that she should serve her husband well whom Chinigchinix had given to her, that she should not be with another man, for even though she were executed they would remain disgraced, and other similar things, and at the end they added: and if your husband does not treat you well, let us know, and you shall return to our house.

There were others who went themselves straight to ask the parents for the girl, and if they yielded her, gave them a present of shell beads

or of something else (which I consider to be like a promise or pledge). These notified their daughter telling her: Daughter, you are to marry such a one, for we have already given you to him. And the poor girl, whether it were her pleasure or against her will, or however it might be, had to marry the man who had asked for her.

There were also certain ones who were given in marriage from the time they were small [children], and it was in this way: The children being of tender age, the fathers and mothers on both sides being together, either with a feast or without one, would say: These 2 little children are to be married, and without further ceremony they were already married, and from that time on the 2 little children played together, ate, and slept together, and the 2 houses were one and the same for both of them; until on reaching competent age they gave their feast as we described above, and they cohabited together. The marriages celebrated thus were mostly those of relatives by affinity, for among them relationship by affinity was not held to be an impediment. In the year 1821 at this Mission I married in the face of the church a couple whose marriage had been contracted since the time they were children, for the girl must have been about 6 months old, and the boy about 2 years when their parents already married them.

There were also among these Indians marriages by rape, and it was that when a captain or his son fell in love with a certain girl of another rancheria, what he did was to send to that rancheria 3 or 4 or more Indians, well armed. On reaching that rancheria, they went directly to the house of the girl and laid before her father and mother the commission which they had brought from their chief, that therefore they should give their daughter to be taken to the chief, and that otherwise they would kill them. The poor wretches, full of fear and dread from the threats that were made them, delivered their daughter, though it might be against their will, and she was taken and led to their lord, and they were already married without performing the ceremonies which we have described above.

What we should search out is whether these marriages of the Indians were true marriage contracts or not. There is no doubt that according to what we have seen they were apparently true marriage contracts (except the rapes, and the unwilling ones, which were null and void), but the rest it seems were true matrimonial contracts, and should therefore be perpetual ones. Yet among these Indians in many cases they were not so, or better stated, it was their belief that they could get divorced whenever it pleased them and they felt inclined, and it was a custom current among them, for if after being married

they did not suit each other, be it for whatever reason it might be and after whatever period of time might have elapsed, if they did not suit each other, as I said, they got divorced at once and each one took his [own] road, and they got married again to others.

My way of thinking is, and I believe I am right, that their marriage contracts were not absolute, but conditional ones, that although at the time of getting married this was not explained verbally, tacitly it was understood, for the reason that it was their custom. This is my way of feeling, *Salvo meliori*, it is obvious to us through experience, and it is confirmed by the exhortation which the parents gave to their daughter when she departed with her husband: *That if the husband did not treat her well, she should return to her home*. Therefore they were not true marriage contracts, for *conjugium* is to unite two together, under a perpetual yoke.

They had the custom that the first time that the woman found herself pregnant, all the people of the rancheria held a feast, eating and dancing, and this for one night only. This feast was held with the rejoicing that another one was coming to them, and in the song of the dance they asked their God Chinigchinix to guard for them that child, the mother being a good woman, since she was about to give them children, for they considered a sterile woman to be a bad omen. When the time of childbirth arrived, they did not do anything special, but after she had brought forth and the baby had been cleaned off, they showed it to the people, and if it was a male the grandfathers named it saying: N., thus this child will be called, and if it was a female the grandmothers named it; and it was always the name of themselves [the grandfathers or grandmothers], of their parents, or of their ancestors, unless at the time of the birth something rare and peculiar might have happened, from the significance of which they gave the name.

The oddest custom of these Indians (although the Ancients [the ancient Mediterranean peoples] also had it) was that at every childbirth, from the time the woman brought forth, the husband had to go on diet like the woman herself, and this consists mainly in his not being able to leave the house except to bring wood and water, [and] in not eating meat or fish or other foods forbidden by them. This diet usually lasted for some 15 days, although in many cases it lasted during the entire period of the lochia of the mother, in the case of others a shorter time, according to the love which they had for the child, and now that they are Christians they still observe it, for they are of the belief that if they break or do not observe this diet, chiefly by eating meat or fish, the baby will die, and it is to be noted that in order for the child to

die the father had to be at home; if at the time of the childbirth he is away from home, though he knows about it and does observe the diet, there is no danger.

And in confirmation of the above I shall relate a case which happened in the year 1819 at the Mission of N. [marginal annotation: San Diego]. The wife of an Indian who was cook for the priests at the said mission, gave birth before the proper time to a baby, very weak and sickly. The husband after it was born began his diet, and on the second day, the priest seeing that the Indian ate nothing more than a little bread asked him the reason why he did not eat meat and other things as usual. The Indian answered him that he was not eating meat because he did not want to kill his child. The priest began to exhort him telling him that he should abandon these gentile ideas that his child would not die though he [the father] ate meat. The Indian was reluctant, but seeing the persistence of the priest (and he was doing it in order to disimpress him of those ideas), he ate like the rest, and in the evening the child died. Of course it is to be reflected that the death of the child did not come from the eating of meat, but from the child's sickness and weakness and premature birth, but all the Indians and he himself attributed it to the eating of meat.

Entre las barbaridades, que pueden contarse de estos Indios, (aunque el P. Torquemada [marginal annotation: lib. 13. c. 9.] ya habla de unos semejantes, y quizás serán de una misma raza) una es y no poco pesima, sino de las mas abominables, el casarse hombres con hombres, estos son unos hombres, que aunque sean varones desde chiquitos les enseñan todos los oficios y trabajos de mugeres, y su modo de vestir es el de las mugeres, hasta en sus brutalidades usan de ellos como de mugeres: Estos tales servian, tanto en su Rancheria como en otras que fueran, como publicas rameras, y este mal trato sodomitico, les era permitido, entregandose á aquel que queria usar de ellos. De estos havia algunos Capitanes, ù otros que se casavan con ellos, y estos los tenian que á mas de usar de ellos en sus brutalidades, para hacerles sus comidas, y servicio de la casa, que como hombres siempre tenian mas fuerza.

Estas especies de hombres todos tenian un mismo nombre que era generico: en las Rancherias de este contorno los llamavan *Cuít*, y un poco mas tierra adentro *Uluqui*, y por la canal *Coyas*. Estos de esta Provincia, no eran como los que refiere Torquemada, pues dice: que aquellos eran unos hombres mariones impotentes, corpulentos, y membrudos. Los que Yo he visto, son hombres usuales como los demas, y no padecen tal impotencia, pues conosi á uno casado con muger de Christiano y tenia dos hijos. Lo mas particular que havia entre estos

dichos era: que como ellos, servian de mugeres á los que los querian, tenian estos la facultad y licencia de cohabitar con la muger que les quadrava, si ellas consentian, y los maridos no decian nada por ello, porque como ellos decian era *hombre muger*, podía jugar y divertirse con las mugeres, pues con ellas iba á pinolear, y hacer todos sus trabajos, y nunca usava de arco y flecha, advirtiendo que eran la gente mas despreciable de los demas.

CHAPTER 6

ABOUT THE MANNER OF LIFE WHICH THESE INDIANS LED.

The mode of living or of life which these Indians had is not of great moment, for they led an idle and lazy life, more like that of brutes than that of rational beings, and being ignorant of the arts, they had no employment and profit with which to busy themselves for using up their time, for they did not cultivate the ground or sow any kind of seed, inasmuch as they subsisted on the wild seeds of various plants which the earth produces, and on the fruits of trees, and on game; and therefore their tasks and labors were confined to the making of bows and arrows (nor did all of them do this, for the youths did not wish to work at anything, but the old men and the poor men), the hunting of deer, cottontail rabbits, groundsquirrels, rats, etc., in order to eat and dress, if going about in their bare skins, as they used to go, can be called dress. For the clothing of the men consisted generally of nothing but their naked skins, but some of them put a deer skin or coyote skin over their shoulders, after the fashion of a cape. The women prepared from the skins of cottontails and jackrabbits a kind of cloak after the fashion of a choir-cope; this they made as follows: they kept twisting the skins, making a cord or string of them, long, and about an inch thick; this cord they sewed together turn on turn making the cape, as I said. In front of their private parts they [the women] wore certain little nets, or a kind of fringe made of grass which reached nearly to their knees; and nothing else except the decorations of shells and bones in their ears and on their necks.

Their way of spending their time was in playing games, taking trips about, sleeping and dancing. The whole life of the men was confined to this, except the old men and the poor men, who also busied themselves in making certain household utensils; or again instruments for working the bows and arrows, such as little saws, punches or awls, and other similar things (the little saws they made from the shoulder-blades of deer; and the borers or punches from their shin bones, as well as from the bones of fish); in making nets for various uses: now for fishing; or again those which they use for carrying their utensils, the women the babies; for catching quails; and for other uses.

Among the women the mode of life followed was very different, for they in addition to making the household utensils had to seek all the things necessary for a livelihood, which are the wild seeds of the country; after gathering them [they had] to clean them, to grind them or toast them for making their pinoles and various kinds of mush,